SPECIAL ISSUE ON CHINA

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Introduction

Perhaps readers will wonder why *Concern* is devoting a special issue to the question of China. Public attention recently has focused on Berlin, and before that on Laos and Cuba. Thus the Formosan Straits have been almost forgotten.

But by the time that readers receive this special issue of *Concern*, perhaps even before, events at the United Nations involving China will be making news. The steady shift of world opinion on the question of Communist China's representation in the UN has already led to another "agonizing reappraisal" of U.S. policy in the Department of State.

September 15, 1961

To be sure, the temper of public opinion in the United States, reflected in various ways by the Congress, is not favorable to any change is U.S. opposition to the seating of the Peiping government in the UN. Methodists, too, are quite divided on the very controversial question of whether or not Communist China should be seated in the UN. Neither the General Conference nor the Board of Christian Social Concerns has taken a position on this issue, although the Board did express the view that the issue should be discussed fully in the General Assembly and not be excluded from the agenda. *(continued on back cover)*

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China and

When the United Nations General Assembly meets for its sixteenth regular session September 19, it will bring the United States up against an acute attack of the perennial ailment: Red China and the United Nations.

The question will be hotter this year than ever before. Most veteran observers believe that on one hand the United States will be unable to put off the discussion for another year, as it has for 10 years past, and that on the other, the Soviet Union cannot muster enough votes to win recognition of the Peiping government as the rightful representatives of China.

The United States is deeply committed. Apart from the record of past years, President Kennedy made an unequivocal statement last month (August) at the end of a visit by Chen Cheng, premier and vice president of the Nationalist government.

A joint communique issued at the end of the visit said: "The President reiterated United States' support for continued representation of the Republic of China in the United Nations, of which she is a founding member. He also re-affirmed the United States' determination to continue to oppose admission of the Chinese communist regime to the United Nations."

The statement left no room for speculation on where the United States would stand if the issue were raised at the coming session, and raised it certainly will be.

U. S. position unchanged

The United States position on China has not changed since the communist government first proposed for membership in 1951, but the situation within the United Nations has changed throughout the years.

The fact that the United States will probably be unable to prevent debate of the China question in the General Assembly this year does not imply that a majority of the 99 member nations favor Red China over Nationalist China. There are various factors involved, among them the belief of many countries that no matter which side is right, the question should be brought into public debate.

It has never been a clear-cut issue of East versus West. Great Britain recognized the Peiping government in 1949, taking the view that ignoring it would not be enough to make it go away.

Moratorium urged

The United States has fought each year in the assembly for another year's moratorium on the subject; the British have abstained.

As new members have been admitted, the United States' margin of victory in the vote for postponement has been whittled down. The newly-independent countries especially tend to fight against efforts by the big powers to sweep awkward questions under the rug. As time went on, the United States came closer to defeat.

Each year since 1951, the China question has been handled in a two-part resolution. It has provided first, that the question of China's representation will not be debated at that session. Second, it resolves that the assembly will not consider the question of seating Red China or of displacing the Taiwan delegation.

Here there is no question of new membership, which would have to go before the Security Council. When the United Nations was founded in 1945, it was provided that China should be not only a charter member

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Sam Pope Brewer is a staff member of the *New York Times*.

he United Nations

by Sam Pope Brewer

but one of the five permanent members of the 11-nation Security Council with the power of veto.

Proposed new members can be vetoed in the Security Council, but the question of choosing between the credentials of Nationalist China or Red China would be for the General Assembly to decide, where 99 members have equal voting power.

Questions of vital importance require a two-thirds vote to pass. They are given that status if a simple majority of the assembly approves it. It is believed that the United States can find enough support to have the China question given that classification.

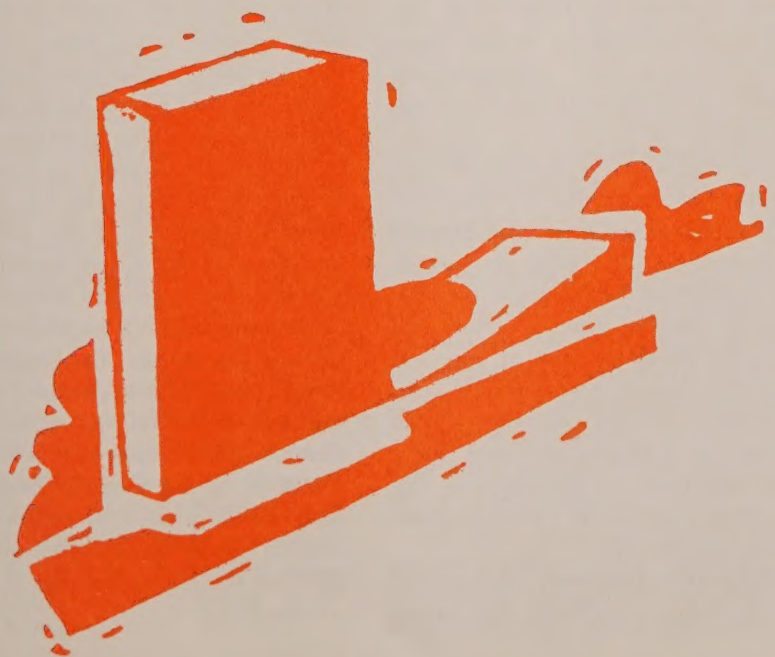
Nationalist China is mentioned remarkably little in discussion of this question. Apart from its veto power it matters little. It is the United States that drums up the votes to support its position. In the backing of the Peiping government, it is the Soviet support that counts.

A remarkable feature that is not often mentioned is that Peiping has shown no great anxiety to be admitted. Among other possible reasons, no disarmament agreement reached by the United Nations would be binding on the People's Republic if it was still not a member of the organization. This would leave it as the one great force that was unrestricted in arms building.

Premier Nikita Khrushchev drew attention to this last year when he said at the General Assembly that only the admission of the communist Chinese government to the United Nations could avert a nuclear war.

That is one of the reasons why a number of nations with no love for communism would like to bring the Chinese question into open debate. They feel it would be wise to get Peiping into the United Nations fold, where even if there were no compelling authority, there would be at least direct contact and some measure of influence.

Since the United Nations was founded with "the Republic of China" as a permanent member of the Security Council, the other Republic of China has confirmed its domination of an estimated 640,000,000 people in mainland China. The government under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek on the island of Taiwan governs some 10,000,000 persons.



Peiping has a good claim to de facto government of China, whatever the rights and wrongs of the case may be.

The gradual move away from the United States' position has been based partly on the increasing evidence of that fact and partly on the wish of new countries to make their weight felt.

U. S. support lessens

In 1952, when there were only 52 members, 71 per cent of them supported the United States' position, with four countries abstaining. Last year, when there were 98 members (Nigeria had not yet been admitted as the 99th) only 43 per cent supported the United States' stand. There were 22 abstentions, or just over 22 per cent of the membership.

Many of those who abstained last year are expected to switch this year to favoring debate on China. Among them are 10 former French possessions in Africa. They have let it be known that they will vote against the American position this time unless Mauritania and Outer Mongolia are admitted to membership.

Their reasons are not directly connected with China. They want Mauritania admitted, but the Soviet Union has tied Mauritania's admission to that of Outer Mongolia, blocked by Nationalist Chinese opposition.

Taipei insists that Outer Mongolia is an integral part of China and that its independence cannot be recognized.

Thus the United States seems to be in a hopeless dilemma. It is doubtful whether even the United States pressure could force Chiang Kai-shek to accept Outer Mongolian independence, but without that, the vot-

ing is likely to go badly this year.

It is to Nationalist China's position that the new African members are reacting, but the United States suffers for supporting it. A recent move for Washington to recognize Outer Mongolia as at least a first step toward solving the problem is reported to have been dropped.

It is considered inevitable in United Nations circles that the Republic of China will continue to veto Outer Mongolia.

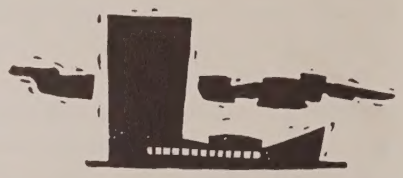
In that case the question of Chinese representation is almost sure to come to debate. The concensus for a moratorium on the debate will be defeated. At the same time, it is not believed likely that the Soviet bloc can rally enough votes to win recognition of Peiping as representing China in the United Nations.

If Peiping did not ask such recognition there would be little justification for making a change, whatever the members' feeling might be. Presumably, if there seemed a chance of success, a delegation would turn up.

According to experts in United Nations affairs, a vote to accept a Red Chinese delegation would bring the organization up against an embarrassing gap in its legal framework.

Credentials are voted on by the General Assembly after acceptance by its credentials committee. There is no separate vote on credentials for the Security Council.

It has always been assumed that the delegation accepted by the Assembly would send its representatives to the Security Council, but that is



not specifically covered in the Charter or the rules of procedure.

A veteran delegate said recently that legal experts agreed that it was possible for Nationalist China to say that recognition of Peiping by the Assembly had no effect on their position in the Security Council.

The United Nations Charter names as permanent members of the council, with the veto power, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States and "the Republic of China."

That is specifically the name of the Nationalist government, as against the People's Republic of China.

The same veteran said that it was a legal quibble that probably could be brushed aside on practical grounds, but it would create an awkward situation. Nobody, apparently, ever foresaw the possibility of rival governments both claiming one of the permanent seats. That situation is unlikely to arise this year.

On the question of whether Red China should be in the United Nations sooner or later, it is a simple matter of fact that no action taken by the United Nations for general disarmament can be effective while there is a fast-developing nation of 640,000,000 that has not even a moral obligation to heed the organization's decisions.

A main point in opposition to Red China is that it has not proved to be a peace-loving nation, as required by the charter. But outside the United Nations it is subject to no sort of pressure except the threat of force.

Administration feels mounting pressure on China question

In the July 26 Washington Post *staff reporter Warren Unna analyzed the UN China question. Here are excerpts from Unna's column:*

. . . The Kennedy Administration currently is experiencing intense and mounting pressure to "do something" about the question of admitting Communist China (to the UN).

The pressure comes from many directions:

- To prevent the United States from making any changes in its previous stand against Peking's admission, Nationalist China President Chiang Kai-shek is having his Premier, Chen Cheng, and Foreign Minister, Shen Chang-huan, hurry over here July 31 to personally present his views to President Kennedy.
- The great majority of Congress is on Chiang's side and poses the double threat of cutting off United States financial contributions to the UN or clamping down on this country's foreign aid appropriations should the UN give the nod to Communist China.
- On the other hand, this Administration no longer can kid itself into believing that the successful 10-year "moratorium" device for postponing the subject of China from the discussion agenda year by year will gain the necessary vote of approval from the General Assembly this year.

British Foreign Secretary Lord Home in February declared flatly that the facts of international life required Communist China's admittance into the UN.

Pakistan's President, Mohammad Ayub Kahn, concluded his recent visit here by saying that this year his country would change its vote to favor Peking.

Japanese Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda, during his recent visit here, also indicated that Japan thought the time had come for both the United States and the UN to be more realistic about the China question.

"War/Peace Report," a new publication oriented around UN affairs, recently polled 96 of the UN's 99 members on the China question. It reported that more than three-fourths said Communist China should have China's seat in both the General Assembly and Security Council; more than two-thirds said Nationalist China should retain some sort of representation in the General Assembly; and, faced with a showdown, the majority said there is no question but that the choice belongs to Communist China.

Chinese in dispersion

by Bishop W. Angie Smith

It is easy to confuse the issue when we speak of the Chinese in dispersion. It can be stated very simply by saying these are the Chinese who preferred a temporary exile from their homes on the mainland rather than submitting to the authority of a powerful military group which had gained control of the Chinese government.

This communistic group destroyed life and property at will and confiscated all that the church had erected through the years. Millions of freedom-loving Chinese escaped from this human bondage and twentieth century slavery to many parts of the world. The largest and most influential group was able to follow its leader to Taiwan to establish the government of Free China in exile.

Under the courageous and capable leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek, a government has been established which can only bring praise from those who are familiar with its growth and development. Since the return of Taiwan by the Japanese after World War II, it has again become a province of China. As such, the government on Taiwan rightly claims to be the proper and one authorative government to represent the freedom loving peoples of China.

While the hundreds of millions of Chinese on the mainland are held in slavery, without voice or vote in any of the policies of the government, Free China has the right and responsibility to represent to the world the desires of these captive millions.

Free China represents captives

There are those who argue for the admission of Red China to the United Nations and a recognition by the United States government on the false theory that an estimated 640,000,000 Chinese people have no voice or vote with other nations in the Assembly of the United Nations.

The Red Chinese government does not truly support these hundreds of millions of Chinese, for the people have never been given any vote or choice in the matter of their government. It is more legitimate to say that the government of Free China represents the freedom-loving Chinese of the mainland rather than the government under which they are now living.

The recognition of Red China will not give these hundreds of millions of Chinese any more representation than they now have. They are an enslaved people held with the denial of all rights and privileges for self determination except that which will bring benefit to a very small minority.

This minority has usurped power and controls all governmental affairs. This small minority, through weight and military strength and without regard for life or property, has control of the mainland of China. To recognize this government is only to put the stamp of approval on everything against which the church stands and to help guarantee an anti-Christian and Godless regime. The multiplied millions of Chinese people know that their desire for freedom is recognized in the relationship of Free China to the United States and the United Nations.

The record of Red China speaks

Bishop W. Angie Smith is bishop of the Oklahoma-New Mexico Area of The Methodist Church and is serving for a year as presiding bishop of Taiwan and Hong Kong Methodism. Bishop Smith recently returned from a tour of Methodist mission projects in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

for itself amid the graves of thousands of American boys who gave their lives in North Korea. At no time has Red China shown any remorse for her warfare against the United Nations. There is a long record of aggression against her neighbors in Asia. To name Laos, Tibet, India, and others is enough to see the disregard for law, order, life, or treaty. If one reads the Charter of the United Nations, no stretch of the wildest imagination could permit Red China to be recognized and become a part of that great Assembly unless there should be a complete reversal of everything for which Red China stands.

Free China on the island of Taiwan has in these few years developed a government of order and respect for law. If one will compare the record of law violations and even juvenile delinquency, he might be surprised to discover the Chinese have a far better record than we have.

They have rapidly stabilized and developed an economy which today enables them to enter into a very profitable export business. They have developed an excellent system of education and training for youth.

The Methodist Church did not have any missionary work of any character at either Hong Kong or on the island of Taiwan, but it has followed our people to these places of strategic importance for the church and for the free world. At the urgent invitation of these established churches in each place, The Methodist Church, under the inspired leadership of the late Bishop Ralph Ward, began a work which is growing very rapidly.

Many of our Methodists lost all their material possessions when they had to flee before the onrush of communism, but they did not lose their faith, their courage, and their devotion to their church. To hear the story, to see the developments, to read the record, and to understand the sacrifices will cause a wave of approval and appreciation to spread over the world.

Now with churches, schools, clinics, social service centers, colleges, and universities, The Methodist Church is making a real contribution to our own people, who gave all they had for freedom and who now stand as a bulwark against the spread of communism in the Far East.

There are those who find fault with the aid and assistance the United States has given to Free China, as if it were a matter of charity. What this country has done in a financial way to help Free China can be charged to her own desire for protection and defense. Any military authority will say that if Taiwan were lost to communism the entire U.S. Pacific line of defense would be wrecked. Then the only wise military move would be to prepare to defend our Western American shore line.

We have not given anything to Free China; we have been fortunate enough to have them able and willing to be our advance guard and defense. No government can be perfect, including that of the United States. But I rejoice that I can give unlimited praise to President Chiang Kai-shek for his military and governmental genius and to both President and Madam Chiang for their time and devoted loyalty to Christianity, and to their abiding love for The Methodist Church.

The political situation in Taiwan

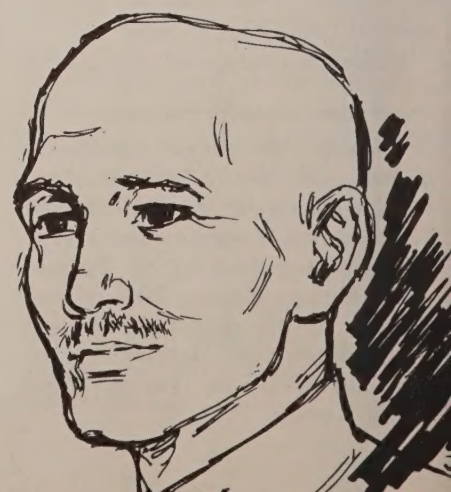
Taiwan has become the symbol of Nationalist or Free China. It was to that island that the Nationalist government and the remnants of its military forces fled as the mainland was engulfed by the victorious communists in 1949-50. This verdant island on the edge of the tropics was part of China for centuries, but was incorporated into the Japanese Empire at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895.

At the close of World War II, Taiwan was returned to China as one of its provinces. The Japanese had built good roads, established a widespread, but limited, school system, and had developed industry, water power, and an agricultural economy.

Under Nationalist leadership, with considerable American help, war damage was soon repaired. Increased development of industry and an excellent agricultural economy (with one of the most successful land reform programs in Asia) have brought increased prosperity. There is now an extensive educational program and a high literacy rate. To the visitor who has known the Chinese mainland, the standards of living and health are noticeably higher in Taiwan than there.

Taiwan and the Nationalist government there have been the symbol of resistance against communism for Chinese and for much of Asia. In Taiwan live the surviving leaders of a courageous fight against aggressive militarism from without and subversive totalitarianism from within. Its government considers itself to be the rightful and legal government of China (though it came to power by military force combined with persu-

After investigation *Concern* was able to locate a writer who is familiar with the internal situation of Taiwan, but who prefers to remain anonymous because of professional reasons.



asive propaganda and a helping hand from Soviet Russia).

It is a government which calls itself democratic and stands committed to the West. There is no question that it is on our side in the East-West struggle. It has numerous and powerful armed forces, supported (as is the economy) chiefly by the substantial aid program of the United States. It is dedicated to a return to the mainland and the overthrow of communism's aims. Most of us can sympathize with these goals.

At a closer look, however, even the most sympathetic observer must admit there are serious problems in this situation. The government of Taiwan considers itself the national government representative of all of China and sees the island where it is situated as only one (and the smallest) of China's provinces.

It employs far more officials than are actually needed on the grounds that it must maintain a core of trained people for the takeover of the mainland, but actually because of political commitments and the necessity of maintaining former officials and their relatives who might otherwise be without livelihood.

It is a one-party government, that of the Kuomintang, as it was on the mainland, even though the fiction of minority parties is preserved (as it is in Communist China). It maintains rigid control over public opinion and expression, and, with few exceptions, those who do not carefully adhere to the government line run into serious difficulties. Such able and prominent leaders as the former Shanghai Mayor and Taiwan Provincial Governor K. C. Wu, General Sun L'jen, and editor Lei Chung have been forced out of office, constrained to seek refuge abroad, or have gone to prison.

Secret police feared

The secret police, under the control of the Russian-educated Generalissimo's older son, Chiang Ching-kuo, are active, powerful, and feared. It is an open secret that Nationalist leaders privately recognize there is little hope that the Nationalists can overthrow the communist regime or that the Kuomintang will ever return to power in mainland China.

When President Chiang Kai-shek's second term recently expired, even though it was unconstitutional to serve a third term, he was nevertheless re-elected on the grounds of an emergency situation by a Legislative Yuan which could not muster the legally-required quorum.

Perhaps even more serious than the problems listed above is the apparent insensitivity on the part of the ruling group in Taiwan to the political aspirations of the people over whom they now rule. It is fairly well known that of approximately 10,000,000 people on Taiwan, only one and a half to two million are so-called mainlanders—i.e., those who fled from the communists.

Approximately 8,000,000 of the total are the Taiwanese or Formosans, whose home and families have been on the island for several hundred years. Something like 7,000,000 of these are Amoy-speaking, perhaps 1,000,000 Hakka (an aboriginal people from the coastal regions of South China) and Cantonese. One hundred fifty thousand or more are the aboriginal people who were there before the Chinese and are of Malayan stock.

The mainlanders basically speak the national language (Mandarin) with English as a second language. The Taiwanese, while Chinese racially, speak the Hokkien or Amoy dialect, with Japanese as a second language, except for the younger people, who have all been educated in the Nationalist schools where the national language is the teaching medium. One observer, familiar with the problems, speaks of a Formosan personality, different from either Chinese or Japanese.

The Taiwanese welcomed liberation from the Japanese empire and reunion with China at the end of World War II. Tension between them and the mainlanders, however, was inevitable. It was sharpened by the fact that it was difficult for each group to understand the language of the other. Immediately following the war, a strong military contingent was sent to the island to take over from the Japanese. The military regime was oppressive and led to a revolt on the part of the Taiwanese in 1947 in which approximately 10,000 lost their lives.

The Nationalists promptly replaced the military commander (he was later executed) and instituted reforms, but the incident left smouldering resentment in the hearts of many Taiwanese. With the acquisition of a common language on the part of the younger people and the measure of prosperity which has developed in subsequent years, there has been some easing of tension and the Nationalist government and its supporters claim there is no real problem between the two groups. Anyone who has talked with Taiwanese students in this country, however, will know that deep resentments still continue.

Taiwanese conscripted

Taiwanese young men are subject to conscription in an army whose avowed purpose is recovery of the mainland, which has never been their

home and to which they have no desire to return. In the political organization of Taiwan, Taiwanese have a considerable measure of representation in the smaller towns and county governments.

At the national level, they are almost without representation, being represented in the Legislative Yuan (the law-making body) only as the smallest province of China. There is sharp resentment of this fact on the part of many Taiwanese and a strong feeling that there is no freedom for them to express their case publicly at home or abroad. They are strongly anti-communist and have not the least desire to fall under communist rule, but neither do they wish to be ruled by mainlanders without adequate representation.

Having been liberated from second-class citizenship under the Japanese, they strongly resent it being perpetuated by their own people. Many of them would much prefer to see an independent Formosa (a name many prefer, even though it is not Chinese, because of the use of "Taiwan" as the official government designation) in which political representation would be shared by all elements of the population on the basis of ability and training; its inviolability against communist aggression guaranteed by the United Nations.

All this greatly troubles an observer deeply sympathetic with the mainland refugees who fought and fled communism, but also sympathetic with Taiwanese people and their aspiration for adequate representation in their own government. A larger measure of genuine democracy and the strengthening of the economy through a truly united effort could produce the kind of showcase on the doorstep of Communist China that could be of vital influence on developments on the mainland and provide a real rallying point for the large and influential Chinese overseas community.

It is a consummation devoutly to be wished that in an era of conflict and tension, when the future of Taiwan and its people may be seriously endangered by changes in world political alignments, the people of that island, mainlanders and Taiwanese, may stand together in mutual trust and shared responsibility.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS FOR COMMUNIST CHINA

Today the Chinese communists face some crucial, difficult, and pressing problems, possibly the greatest since the first few years of their regime. Then the new government had to stabilize a currency so wildly inflated that money lost value from day to day; to revive an economy devastated by 12 years of Japanese invasion and occupation and the civil war; to fulfill Mao Tse-tung's long promise to give land to all the landless peasants; to destroy remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's army and bureaucracy; and to establish firmly and quickly the control of the Communist Party and government over 640,000,000 people, right down to the village level — a feat neither the ancient emperors on the Dragon Throne nor Chiang Kai-shek had ever achieved.

Now, after 11 years of power, Communist China confronts difficulties that may seem less dramatic but are very urgent. They center around an extremely critical dislocation of her economy. What does this mean in *human* terms? The Chinese people have lived on strict and short rations since 1953. But food shortages have been big and long enough recently that death and diseases from malnutrition are common. Hundreds of millions of tired and apathetic Chinese *could not* do the work required of them. Even some lower level officials are discouraged and careless in their jobs.

Re-thinking needed

In *national* terms, it means that Peking has to do some hard re-thinking and re-planning, put agricultural and industrial development into some sort of balance, and revise her previous high-pressure, "twenty years' progress in a day" time-table for economic growth.

The communists can't blame their troubles today on Chiang Kai-shek and the "evil" American imperialists, as they did back in 1950-52. In fact much of the present difficulty stems right from pet policies of Mao Tse-tung. The best scapegoat Peking can come up with publicly is natural disasters, but the communists had insisted in 1958 and 1959 that man was already the Master of nature! The second scapegoat is about 10 per cent of the public and of government workers, who are officially damned as bourgeois, wicked fomenters of trouble, and just plain counter-revolutionaries.

Peking's objectives noted

To understand better the communists' present difficulties, we might restate, not in order of importance, three of Peking's principle and related objectives. These are to make China, in the shortest possible time, into (1) a great international power, respected and feared; (2) a full-fledged socialist and then communist state; and, (3) one of the world's most advanced industrial nations. The frenzied speed the party has demanded towards fulfillment of these goals, especially in the last few years of "The Great Leap Forward," has led some students of Chinese affairs to wonder whether Mao Tse-tung, leader of his party for a quarter of a century and now well into his sixties, doesn't want to see all three of these aims virtually achieved before he dies.

In the last 11 years China has made gains towards the first-named objective — power — without one of its chief bases, *modern* military might. But Russia is her ally. Also, Peking has extraordinarily effective propa-

ber, 1960, a resolution was approved calling for "a free and open discussion" of the issue of representation, rather than the postponement of consideration for another year.

Reasons for resolutions

No Protestant is obligated to accept resolutions by church councils. As Luther said, popes and councils may err! But he is obliged to give them respect and consider the reasons for their adoption.

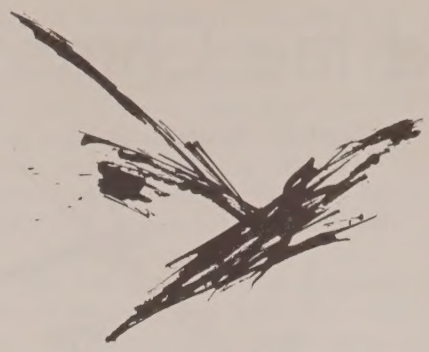
First of all, *the cooperation of the PRC is essential for programs of benefit to the human race.* As the largest nation on earth, the PRC has immense potential influence for good or evil. Its support of world-wide programs is extremely desirable.

Earlier this year at the UN there was a Conference on the Adoption of a Single Treaty for the Control of Narcotic Drugs. Representatives of 80 concerned nations were present, even the Holy See, but not the PRC. In light of the traffic of opium by Chinese in centuries past, it would seem that mainland China especially should participate in such a conference.

Several years ago the World Health Organization met in Minneapolis. Prominent speakers voiced regret that the PRC was not represented. They recalled that a short time before there had been a world epidemic of influenza, which had started in mainland China and spread from continent to continent. There had been no epidemiological stations in mainland China to observe its beginning and to report upon its nature and spread.

The blueprints for inspection of the observance of a nuclear test ban treaty were worked out by scientists from the East and West. These plans assumed monitoring stations in China, as well as in Russia and India. But the PRC has not been represented at the test ban conference table. It is quite unlikely that this new and proud nation will accept an inspection plan under UN auspices, when it has not been consulted and has been excluded from membership in the UN.

What is true of a test ban treaty is even more true of universal and general disarmament. The Central Committee of the World Council observed: "No adequate treaty on disarmament or the cessation of nuclear weapons testing is possible unless the government in effective power on the mainland of China is party thereto."



Universality of membership

Universality of membership in the UN is desirable. This principle was stated by Protestant leaders even before the UN was born. One of the nine improvements of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, suggested by the Cleveland Conference of 1945, was: "All nations willing to accept the obligations of membership shall thereupon be made members of the organization."

Many churchmen at that time remembered the way in which the League of Nations was weakened by the absence of the United States, and for many years, of the Soviet Union. Nations opposed the admission of Russia to the League for the same reasons some oppose the representation of the PRC to the UN until the rise of fascist power caused them to reverse themselves.

It is true that Article 4 of the Charter asserts that "membership is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present charter and, in the judgment of the organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations."

Note the word "other." It assumes that all of the original 51 members were peace-loving. In the last 16 years all kinds of nations have been admitted: communist, socialist, capitalist, and fascist. Increasingly, if a nation exists, applies for membership, and agrees to the principles of the Charter, this is accepted as sufficient evidence that the candidate is peace-loving.

Witness across barriers

Our faith teaches us to communicate with persons across barriers and bear witness to whatever truth we have. Jesus was condemned for talking and eating with publicans and sinners. In its membership the early church gloriously leaped over traditional barriers of sex, race, nation, and social condition. Should not Christians desire to confront communists in the United Nations, as well as in Olympic games and in scientific meetings?

If the PRC were in the UN, it would have by reason of its membership accepted the principles of the Charter and could be judged accordingly. Currently, it has accepted no international standard by which it can be judged. It would be foolish to predict that if the PRC comes into the UN, it would quickly change either its domestic or foreign policy. But the Christian believes in the power of the spirit. He knows that pioneer missionaries lived many years in foreign countries before making a single convert.

It would be in the best interest of the church, of the United States, and the world that there should be more intercourse between the PRC and the United States. In the minds of Christians on the mainland a distorted image is being created of the church in other nations. We note with pleasure how visits between Russian and Western churchmen have brought the Orthodox Church to the point of making application for membership in the World Council.

The future of Taiwan

One of the major stumbling blocks to the representation of the PRC in the UN has been concern for the people of Taiwan. Many Methodists have known Chiang Kai-shek personally and want no communist terror on the island. What proposals concerning the future of Taiwan should our representatives at the UN be considering?

There is little possibility or desirability of the reconquest of the mainland by nationalist forces, little likelihood of a successful revolution against the present mainland government, and even less desire on the part of the mainlanders to restore Chiang to power.

Churches and the China issue

by Carl D. Soule

Increasingly in recent years the judgment of many Protestant leaders, especially those who deal with international affairs, has been that the People's Republic of China (PRC) should be represented in the United Nations.

For example, in 1952 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand asserted that the admission of the PRC to the UN was morally right.

In 1956 the General Council of the United Church of Canada urged its government to "exert its influence that the PRC be recognized by Canada and that Canada urge that representatives of this government be given membership in the UN." This position was reaffirmed in 1958 and 1960.

In 1958 the Fifth World Order Study Conference of the National Council of Churches met in Cleveland. To it came 500 officially appointed delegates from 27 denominations, two-thirds of whom were laymen and about 100 of whom were Methodists. Two of the four sections brought to the final plenary session statements concerning the desirability of the representation of the PRC in the UN.

That part of the message which dealt with China was adopted by a very large majority:

". . . While the rights of the people of Taiwan and of Korea should be safeguarded, steps should be taken toward the inclusion of the PRC in the UN and for its recognition by our government. Such recognition does not imply approval. . . . The exclusion of the effective government on the mainland of China from the international community is in many ways a disadvantage to that community. It helps to preserve a false image of the United States and of other nations in the minds of the Chinese people. It keeps our people in ignorance of what is taking place in China. It hampers negotiations for disarmament. . . ."

Criticism leveled

When some criticism was leveled at the National Council because of this position, the General Board of the NCC declared: "The members of the conference, two-thirds of whom were lay persons, were a highly representative cross-section of the member churches of the National Council. More than this, these persons were broadly representative of the interest and competence of the National Protestant Community in foreign affairs."

The statement called forth a strong protest from the National Christian Council of Korea: "We feel compelled to protest with all the strength we have gotten from the teachings of our common Master who taught us to seek first his kingdom and his righteousness."

Early in 1959 the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ adopted a statement similar to that of the Fifth World Order Study Conference.

In August, 1960, the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches noted that disarmament and nuclear weapons testing can be effectively applied only if the people and government of China are in a position to contribute to their formulation and application. It approved a note by Dr. O. Frederick Nolde that an "artificial and dangerous" situation exists when 640,000,000 people are isolated from the rest of the world. A week later in Amsterdam, Martin Niemoller of Germany, a member of the Central Committee, expressed deep satisfaction that the action had been supported by such an overwhelming majority of the Committee.

In 1960 the General Conference of The Methodist Church made no statement concerning China. However, at the annual meeting of the Board of Christian Social Concerns in Decem-

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order a sizable reduction in land for grain planting for the fall and winter of 1958-59, a policy quickly rescinded in the spring when even Peking began to see that something was awry with agricultural statistics.

Much of the blame for Communist China's recent agricultural difficulties and the people's distress must be laid at the door of the communes. Of course, one of their functions was to increase the power of the party at the grass roots level. But through public messhalls and nurseries, Peking intended to reduce consumption, especially of food, and increase production, partly by supervising and saving every moment of the peasants' time, and partly by making almost every able-bodied women in the Chinese countryside into a full-time laborer.

Peking also expected to benefit from having a central authority in each commune which could shift at will several thousand men and women to mend this dyke, dig this system of canals, build this road, or construct this factory or large irrigation project.

Communes failed

Although they were in a constant process of being "tidied up," and huge numbers of city workers, students, and even Red Army men were sent to reorganize and assist them, the communes failed. Management personnel qualified to direct, from week to week, or month to month, the activities of 10,000-50,000 workers just wasn't available. Even the cadres in command of the communes' subsidiary groupings — the brigade of 200 or more men and the team of, say, 20 to 50—frequently mis-applied Peking's directives, bullied the peasants under them, failed to see that their rest or food was adequate (sometimes working them 12 and 14 hours a day), and didn't bother to keep account of their work points. Thus many commune members had little incentive to work, since they were paid very late, or only partially, or unfairly, or never.

Mess-halls were never satisfactory, in quantity or quality of food and in sanitation. Crops were often carelessly reaped and stored; broken or worn out tools were often neither repaired or replaced. In general, communes did very poorly in collectivized rearing of chickens, pigs and other livestock, growing vegetables and other subsidiary crops. Peasants were kept so busy in their "spare time" attending political meetings, doing militia drill, and producing a kind of self-hypnotic, propaganda "poetry" that they had no time for the handicrafts so vital to village economy.

The best proof that the commune was a failure is that though the communists still pay it lip service and retain its organizational skeleton, in fact the countryside is back to its pre-commune days, with authority and control of men, land, animals, tools, and crop quotas in the hands of what roughly corresponds to the old collectives and their work teams.

For the moment, at least, Peking has given farmers more freedom, rest, and incentive to work. Peasants need attend virtually none of the former time-consuming political meetings; many actually get their legitimate two days off a month. At least 20,000,000 people have been sent from the cities to help the rural areas.

Though mess-halls remain, families have the real instead of the pro forma right to take grain back to cook in their own kitchens. They are urged, and even assisted, to keep their own chickens and pigs to sell to the government. They are encouraged to grow produce on tiny plots of their own, as well as on edges of roads and fields and ponds. They can eat or feed livestock what they grow, or sell it and the handicrafts they make, at regular village fairs, through *bargaining*.

Chinese health depleted

But all this is very late. Low caloric intake compared to required work loads has seriously depleted the health of countless Chinese. There are reliable reports of general slow-downs at labor, thefts and blackmarketing of food, apathy, loss of morale. Cases of cynicism and discontent exist among lower levels of the government and party, and among the young, generally considered one of the groups most loyal to the regime.

Besides, Peking has had to ask for deferred payments on her debt to Russia, taken the unheard-of step of importing grains from Canada and Australia, and announced a radical change of economic policy: for some time, *agriculture*, not industry, is to be the "basis" of and take top priority in Chinese economy. What this will mean in specific terms, such as large imports of much-needed chemical fertilizer, is not known. What is clear is that Mao and his associates are having to face a revision of their economic blueprints and a slow-down of their time tables.

Population explodes

Nor do we know—the communists themselves may not know—what they are going to do about another long-term, momentous problem closely related to economic growth and agricultural production: a population now numbering about 640,000,000, increasing, at a conservative estimate, 2.5 per cent annually.

Of course, China faces other difficulties. One she admits is never-ending: thoroughly transforming all the people into real communists, who understand, believe and follow Mao and Marx, love the party, the collective, and work, and put all of them before any conceivable personal consideration.

China's pre-1949 ex-bourgeoisie and intellectuals are still not properly "transformed." There are young people — graduates of primary schools, high schools, universities — who wrongly disdain going back to work for years on the farms. There is Tibet — and the many minority groups inside China who obstinately wish to retain their own customs, language, ways of life, religious and superstitious practices, and longstanding hatred of "the Hans."

None of this means that the Chinese communists' regime is really threatened. It is not. Peking has many problems. But at this moment, it would be a foolish person who would prophesy that any one of them — or any combination of them — is likely, in the observable future, to bring about the downfall of the communist government of China.

ganda techniques, extending through Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and South America, and influencing, inside China, a huge and steady stream of visitors, from British generals to African "rebels." These elaborate "Red Carpet" tours are carefully and subtly planned to flatter, impress, deceive, and delude, but they also show some of the regime's real achievements. These include new modern factories, much cleaner towns and cities, better hygiene and sanitation, more medicine (traditional and modern) for the people, less illiteracy and many more schools. With these, and other assets, Communist China does have more power than Chiang Kai-shek's regime, though far from enough to satisfy Peking.

The Chinese communists have also advanced towards another goal — achieving socialism. With very little trouble, the state took over and socialized trade and big and little industry. Tricking the peasants by taking back the land it had promised and given, Peking collectivized its some 550,000,000 peasants faster than had the Russians, progressing from cooperatives to collectives and, almost overnight in 1958, to the famous "communes."

These huge agglomerations of 10,000-50,000 people, with centralized control, not just over agriculture, but over all economic, political, military, cultural, social, and industrial affairs, were another step towards socializing the countryside. They were also to remain basic units when China reached full communism.

It is essential to remember that the Chinese communists believe that the achievement of world power, the completion of socialism, and the transition to communism depend on their third goal — a highly industrialized economy. In this area, for some years, but particularly in the "Great Leap Forward," begun in 1958, the Chinese communists have made remarkable progress, particularly in heavy industry.

Within a decade, for instance, they have constructed huge complexes for producing steel, a great dam and hydroelectric station on China's "sorrow," the Yellow River; a massive bridge across the Yangtze, and many new factories making everything from machine tools to airplanes and locomotives. They have opened new oilfields, claim to mine more coal annually than the United States, and have greatly extended their railways, roads and airlines.

But this high rate of industrial development — "twenty years' progress in a day," as the communist slogan went — meant importing from the communist bloc, particularly from Russia, machinery (often complete factories), tools, raw materials, and technicians. These goods and services were not gifts, but *loans*, paid for by squeezing agriculture.

In other words, several hundred millions of Chinese farmers, largely using the primitive tools of their ancestors, working longer hours and eating less than their "brothers" in the factories, had not only to feed the whole country, but grow enough produce to pay for China's industrial imports and to provide the raw material for China's light industries.

So, blinded by their rigid Mao-Marxist philosophy, Peking depended for an ever-increasing flow of agricultural supplies on higher forms of collectivization (which most farmers hated), on exhortations, "mass campaigns," and "emulations" for more and yet more production, on "thought reform" — and just plain driving of peasants to work beyond their capacity in a cruel combination of long hours, little rest, and low caloric intake.

In any event, the "Great Leap Forward" and commune system inaugurated in 1958 and natural disasters— drought, flood, insect pests, etc. — in 1959 and 1960 conspired to make the Communist Party reap the results of basically fallacious Chinese economic planning over a whole decade: that is, the belief that a "semi-backward" — or what Mao calls a "poor and blank" — country can heavily industrialize quickly by simultaneously squeezing agriculture and neglecting it.

Disasters exaggerated

Some experts believe that the communists deliberately exaggerated the 1959-60 natural disasters to hide longstanding neglect and errors in the countryside, some bad effects of the "Great Leap" on agriculture, and the failure of Mao Tse-tung's own brainchild, the commune.

During the "Great Leap," for example, manpower was moved to factories and mines from the fields, where it was needed. The famous "mass campaign" to make iron and steel in home-made backyard furnaces took so many able-bodied men from harvesting that in some provinces 90 per cent of the job was done wastefully by women.

And, since to have enormous crops was a *political duty*, cadres (government workers) in the countryside falsified figures, causing even Mao to

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by Peggy Durdin

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One solution is to have an indefinite continuation of the present situation, that is, to have two Chinas. One might be called Taiwan and be another small nation in the United Nations. The other would be the PRC and would occupy the China seat in the Security Council as one of the large nations of the world.

It is instructive to note that there is a Formosan government in exile in Tokyo. It is headed by Thomas Liao, who received a doctorate from Ohio State University some years ago. This government wishes the Nationalist government to cease to dominate Taiwan, to have democratic elections on Taiwan under UN auspices, and to place Formosa under the control of Formosans.

Another solution would be to have the PRC only represented in the UN, but with the Nationalist government still in power in Taiwan — a reversal of the present situation.

Still another would be the extension of the power of the PRC to Taiwan. Both governments assert that Taiwan is not a separate country and that it belongs historically and legally to the mainland.

A reasonable suggestion has been made that Taiwan be made a protectorate of an international commission under the UN for a period of 10 years, during which it would be neutralized and demilitarized with democratic elections. After that time another decision would be made in light of prevailing conditions.

Church councils are properly concerned about the place of China in the world community. Their judgment about the relationship of the PRC to the UN moves largely in one direction. Members of local churches should respect these resolutions and consider the reasons for them.

The Christian Church inside China

by Francis P. Jones

In November, 1947, Methodists from all parts of China converged on Foochow for a celebration of the 100th anniversary of the arrival of the first Methodist Episcopal missionaries to China. Nine annual conferences and one provisional annual conference were represented in this centennial celebration.

As is usual on such occasions, the tribulations and the triumphs of that first 100 years were recounted, and optimistic predictions made that in the second 100 years even greater triumphs would take place. Few of those present seemed to be aware that at least the first part of that second 100 years would see instead greater tribulations, not only for The Methodist Church, but for the whole Christian movement in China.

For they had scarcely returned home from their celebration when the news from the north began to be more ominous. The communist armies began to advance on all fronts, and the Nationalist armies, in a catastrophic collapse of morale, began a series of retreats and defeats that finally landed the survivors on the island of Taiwan, leaving the mainland to the communist conquerors.

Practically none of the Christian preachers in China took part in the flight to Taiwan. Twelve years earlier, in 1937, when the Japanese occupied all of East China, the pastors remained at their posts, and now again in the face of this still greater upheaval, practically all of the pastors remained.

Opinions differed

These Christian leaders were not united in their attitude toward the new regime. Some of them welcomed it whole-heartedly. Others were just as firm in their opposition, and obeyed the new decrees reluctantly, because there was no other alternative. The majority probably were uncertain, waiting to see whether the new government would be better or worse than the old one.

The second group was speedily removed from all positions of influence or authority. The Chinese communists treated with great harshness and severity a few outstanding persons in every social circle, for the purpose of intimidating all the rest of that circle. Christian circles were no exception.

The Methodist Church in China had two Chinese bishops, Bishop Z. T. Kaung and Bishop W. Y. Chen. Charges of being a traitor and an underground supporter of Chiang Kai-shek were levelled against Bishop

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Chen. He was imprisoned in 1951, and served a five year period in prison, emerging in 1956 broken in health and still unable to resume work as Methodist Bishop because of continuing house arrests.

In contrast to this, Bishop Kaung, who supported the new regime from the beginning, and in fact, joined in the public denunciation of Bishop Chen, was allowed to continue his supervision of The Methodist Church until the time of his death in 1958. Since then, The Methodist Church in China has had no effective bishop.

For the third group, the uncertain ones, an elaborate system of political education was devised. In every section of China the communists set up political study institutes, some of them of three and four months' duration. They required the preachers of each area to drop their work for that period of time and give their whole time to study of the principles of a communist society.

These institutes have undoubtedly been successful in winning over a considerable number of the uncertain ones. However, very many who go through this process remain unconvinced.

Three Self Movement

The first group, those who welcomed the new regime whole-heartedly, were, of course, in a more favorable position. The government set up a Bureau of Religious Affairs to govern the activities of Christians, Buddhists, Moslems and Taoists. With the backing of this bureau, the pro-communist Protestant leaders organized what is commonly called the Three Self Movement.

"Three Self" is a characteristic Chinese abbreviation for "self-support, self-government, and self-propagation." It is intended to emphasize the fact that the church is now cutting itself loose from all former relations with missionaries and mission boards.

The Movement promptly supplanted the National Christian Council as the representative spokesman for Protestant churches in China, and indeed was both more authoritative and more inclusive than the Council had ever been. No denomination dared to remain outside the Movement. When the Movement leaders spoke, their word was recognized as coming with the full force of the government behind it.

American readers may perhaps wonder how it is possible for Christian leaders anywhere in the world to collaborate with a communist government. But having lived in Nanking during the first 20 months of the communist regime there, I can appreciate the reasons why some sincere Christians welcome that regime, even though I do not agree with the conclusions they draw from those reasons.

In the first place, the Chinese in 1949 were thoroughly war-weary. For 12 years, ever since the Japanese attacked in 1937, their land had not been free from the ravages of war. The Nationalist government had shown its inability to cope with the situation and bring peace. People were therefore willing to try the only other alternative which presented itself, a communist government.

The most fundamental defect of the Nationalist government had been perhaps its inability or unwillingness to cope with the economic problem of continuing inflation. The Chinese *yuan*, worth about 33 cents in American money at the beginning of the war with Japan, had steadily inclined in value throughout the war. But after Japanese surrender in 1945 this inflation, instead of being checked by wise financial measures, proceeded at a still more rapid pace.

In 1948 12 million *yuan* could be bought for one American dollar. That currency was then scrapped, and a new *yuan*, supposedly worth 25 cents in American money, was introduced. In less than a year that, too, had sunk to the place where 40,000 of them equalled one U. S. dollar.

The effect of this on business was appalling. Accounts were meaningless. No plans could be made for purchases or sales prices. Reputable banks offered 20 per cent per month interest on all check account balances. Still the depositor lost, for the 20 per cent additional at the end of the month would not make up for the loss of purchasing power which had taken place during the month.

The communists promised to stop this inflation and they did. The resulting stability led many, including Christians, to believe that here at last China had a good and strong and effective government.

Refreshing moral tone

Again, the new government had a moral tone which was a refreshing contrast to the preceding regime. There was a Puritan-like earnestness and simplicity about the communist way of life which could not help but impress all observers. Willingness to work hard, self-sacrifice for the public good, and scorn for those who thought only of personal advancement were the ideals which the communists both taught and exemplified. Many a Christian, on seeing with his own eyes this unselfish devotion, was led in shame to confess that Christians could learn from the communists.

Communist concern for the very poor was another impressive point for Christians. They saw the new government making plans to raise the standard of living of those at the bottom of the living scale (and probably there was some improvement, though the extent of it is still a moot point), to give them economic security, and to provide them with medical care and with education to a degree hitherto unthought of.

Is it then little wonder that they could, and did, liken both Christian America and the Christian Chiang Kai-shek to the professedly religious priest and Levite who passed by on the other side, and the communists to the non-religious Samaritan who stooped to serve one in need.

Capitalism has always shown its worst face in the countries of the East, where its characteristic exploitation of the laborer has not yet been checked by social legislation, as in England and America. As a result, many Christians in China could see

no other alternative to unchecked capitalism than the socialist program of communism. Therefore they had a sincere conviction that in choosing the latter alternative they were fulfilling their Christian duty.

These are among the main reasons why so many of the Christian leaders in China supported the People's Republic. In doing so perhaps they did not react with sufficient Christian clarity against the judicial murder of at least 2,000,000 of their fellow-citizens and against the campaigns of hatred and intolerance into which they were forced. Perhaps they did not take adequate account of what they were losing in the cruel suppression of individual liberties. But we must still admit that there were some positive reasons on their side. Their choice cannot be stigmatized as being just a cowardly submission to brute force.

Christians preach God

It is important to note that in all this collaboration with the materialistic communists the Christians never thought of compromise on the fundamental questions of the existence of God and the destiny of man. Again and again they had to listen to communists ranting against all religion, but continued in their own preaching to bear witness to the gospel. Not even the Communist Commissioner of the Bureau of Religious Affairs expected them to do otherwise.

"We know the Christians continue to preach God," he said. "We don't believe in God, but we have guaranteed freedom of religious belief, and we are willing to leave the verdict to history." And the Chinese Christians' answer of faith has been, "So are we."

A rough estimate of the size of the Protestant church in China in 1949, when the Communists came to power, is about 1,000,000. One of the Chinese Christian leaders has estimated that in the first two or three years this membership fell off by about 40 per cent. Then it began to pick up again, as some of the apostates returned and new Christians came in to take the place of those fearful ones who had dropped out. His estimate was that by about 1956 the recovery had brought church membership back to approximately 750,000.

From 1958 on, news of the churches has dwindled as the strain on them has become much more severe. In the "Great Leap Forward" to raise industrial production, hours of work have been increased so that church members have little time for church services. Many preachers, too, have been impressed into factory or farm work, and can carry on their pastoral vocation only in their spare time.

With this reduction in church activities all Protestant church services have been merged in those cities where there was more than one denomination. The expectation is that after several years of worshipping together, they will sit down to work out the terms of union for one inclusive Protestant Church.

In other respects, too, there has been a slowing down. The number of Bibles and New Testaments being printed and sold has greatly decreased. There are not more than 200 or 300 young men studying for the ministry in all of China. Serious new books on theology or devotion are absent. Can the Christian Church continue to exist in a society that gives so little leeway to the things of the spirit?

Chinese Christians are not thinking in terms of the early demise of the church in China. An all-China conference of the Three Self Movement was held in Shanghai as recently as January, 1961. A recent report from Soochow told of the baptism of 30 persons on one Sunday there, an indication that the church is still adding to its number those who are willing to accept the censure for serving Christ in a hostile, materialistic environment.

Our mission to a changing China

by Tracey K. Jones

What is our Christian mission to a changing China? This calls for study at three points. First, there is a need to recognize the historical forces that for 100 years have dominated Chinese life. Second, we need to understand the Christian opportunity in Taiwan. Third, we need to probe the problems of the Chinese in the 10 countries of Southeast Asia.

All three of these issues are lodged in the one theme, "Our Mission to the Changing China."

As one looks at the mainland of Communist China, it is important to

remember history. Since the 1850's there have been four powerful drives in Chinese life. The first was an attempt to restore the pride of the Chinese people. Following the Opium Wars they felt humiliated and disgraced. Out of this came a growing resentment against the outside world fed by deep springs of anti-foreignism.

The second drive has been cultural. For 100 years the Chinese have been trying to adjust their culture to the modern world, and it has not been easy.

The third drive was industrial. The symbols of her frustration and opportunity were the treaty ports of Shanghai, Tienstin, Canton, and others, large industrial centers dominated for years by Western nations. China lacked the strength to take over these industrial cities, and so her frustration grew.

The fourth revolved around the issue of social justice. China, along with other nations, has for centuries faced the problem of social injustice. A small ruling landlord class dominated much Chinese life. The problem has been to restore a better balance between the classes.

War weakened government

If the Japanese War had not come in 1937, it is very possible that the Nationalist government would have been able to resolve these four problems of Chinese history. They were making great progress. However, the invasion of the Japanese seriously hurt the Nationalist government. Following the war they were not strong enough to maintain the momentum of these four powerful Chinese drives.

On the other hand, the communists rode to power on these four issues. First, they claimed to be the avenger of a humiliated Chinese race. Second, they made the claim that they were the modern man, having adjusted Chinese culture to the modern world. Third, they believed themselves to be the scientists and technologists

capable of industrializing China quickly. Fourth, they saw themselves to be the "comrade" able to restore the deep injustices that have existed in Chinese history.

Questioners often ask how the Christians have stood up to all of this. What has happened to them? What has been their mission?

Following the communist victory there was a feeling of penitence among Chinese Christians. They regretted that they had not dealt with more passion and conviction with some of China's issues when they had the chance.

A frightened people

Second, they were frightened. They found themselves confronted by an amoral, ruthless, determined adversary who would tolerate no opposition or difference in opinion. Third, they were silenced. They were forced both by the pressure of threats and the pressure of propaganda to conform to the objectives of the government.

Fourth, they were confused. They found it difficult to know what is Caesar's and what is God's. Fifth, they survived. This is one of the miracles of our time. In spite of all the pressure, the churches remain very much alive.

Our mission to the changing China demands, first of all, an understanding of the historical forces that have played such a big part in Chinese history, and second, an awareness that the Christian Church lives on.

We need, too, to see the opportunity open to us on the island of Taiwan. There are deep political issues at stake which are hard to resolve. But Taiwan is more than a political problem. It is fundamentally a nation of people.

In 1959 the census indicated that there was a civilian population in Taiwan of 10,231,659. The total population is more than that of Australia. It is about the same as Sweden and Norway combined. More than half of the members of the United Nations are smaller than Taiwan itself.

The National Constitution guarantees religious freedom to all bodies in Taiwan. The largest religious communities are the Buddhist with their 2,500 nuns and some 1,400 temples. There are also some 40,000 Chinese Muslims living on the island. However, while less than 1 per cent of the students entering universities register as believers in Buddhism, as many as 20 per cent have registered as Christians. This gives some indication of the mood.

The growth of the Christian churches in the last few years has been dramatic. Since 1956 Protestant membership has gained by 40 per cent and Roman Catholic membership, including infants, by 100 per cent. In 12 years the Roman Catholic Church has grown from 12,000 members to nearly 200,000 members.

There are today some 252,000 Protestant communicants and inquirers in the churches. The larger number of Protestant Christians is in the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan. The Methodist work in Taiwan began in 1953 with the establishment of the congregation in Taipei. The total membership at this time is somewhere around 1,500, and the outreach through schools includes a new girls' school and two universities.

Focus on people

Our focus as Christians must remain upon people. They are there by the hundreds of thousands and are in need of a ministry of Jesus Christ. I presume that it would be safe to say that there is no place in Asia where the climate is more conducive to Christian evangelism than in Taiwan. The growth of the

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churches during these past 10 years would indicate that this is true.

Any discussion regarding our mission to the changing China also includes the Chinese of Southeastern Asia. Sometimes it is forgotten that there are over 11,000,000 Chinese scattered throughout Southeast Asia. They make up a total of 6 per cent of the population of the 10 countries throughout Southeast Asia, running as high as 76 per cent of the population in the city of Singapore and as low as .04 per cent in North Vietnam. Of the 11 million Chinese in Southeast Asia, almost all of them are second, third, or fourth generation Chinese. There has been very little migration into the area since 1940.

There has been considerable resentment, jealously, and envy by the nationals in these countries toward the Chinese. This is due to three factors. First of all, the Chinese have had considerable economic control over much of the non-agricultural economy of the Philippines, Borneo, Indonesia, Malaya, Vietnam, and Thailand, and they are reluctant to let go.

At one time it was estimated that 95 per cent of the retail business in the Philippines was controlled by the Chinese. An English economist estimates that the Chinese in Malaya in 1956 had control in one way or another of $1.3 billion of a total *national income* of $1.8 billion. In Singapore the percentage may even be higher.

The reaction of these governments throughout Southeast Asia to this economic control has at times been drastic. In 1959 all Chinese in Indonesia were forced to close their shops and to move to the cities. President Sukarno said, "When the rice supply of the nation is controlled by a minority of aliens, the nation is in danger." Similar steps, although less drastic, have been taken in the other countries.

A second reason for the deep suspicion of the Chinese is the educational policies of the Chinese communities. A few years ago there were over one million Chinese students in Southeast Asia attending schools where Chinese has been the medium of instruction. The struggle to bring these schools under the control of the new governments in Southeast Asia has been a hard and bitter one. It has been fought in country after country and the battle continues today.

The third issue is citizenship. The traditional attitude of the Chinese has been that once a person is born a Chinese, he remains a Chinese.

The communists for the most part have held to this policy. In 1953 they included the Chinese in Southeast Asia as a part of their population statistics and there are 30 seats in the National Political Congress of the communist government representing the Chinese from this area. However, communist policy has vacillated, first encouraging Chinese to become citizens of the countries where resident, then speaking to them as if they were still Chinese subjects.

The Chinese in these smaller countries of Southeast Asia feel helpless. If they renounce their citizenship to the Taiwan government or to the Peiping government, they cannot be certain that they will be treated as full citizens in the countries where they are resident. Therefore, throughout Southeast Asia there are some 11 million Chinese who, in varying degrees, feel this helplessness.

The Methodist Church is committed to all of these countries in Southeast Asia. There are strong Methodist churches among the Chinese in Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Sarawak, and in Hong Kong and Taiwan. There is no Protestant denomination with more wide-spread interests in the Chinese throughout this area.

It is therefore important for Methodists to have a deep understanding of what the nationals of these countries feel about the Chinese and to see the problem from the Chinese point of view as well.

Mission summarized

Our mission as Methodists to the changing China can be summarized in three points. These are:

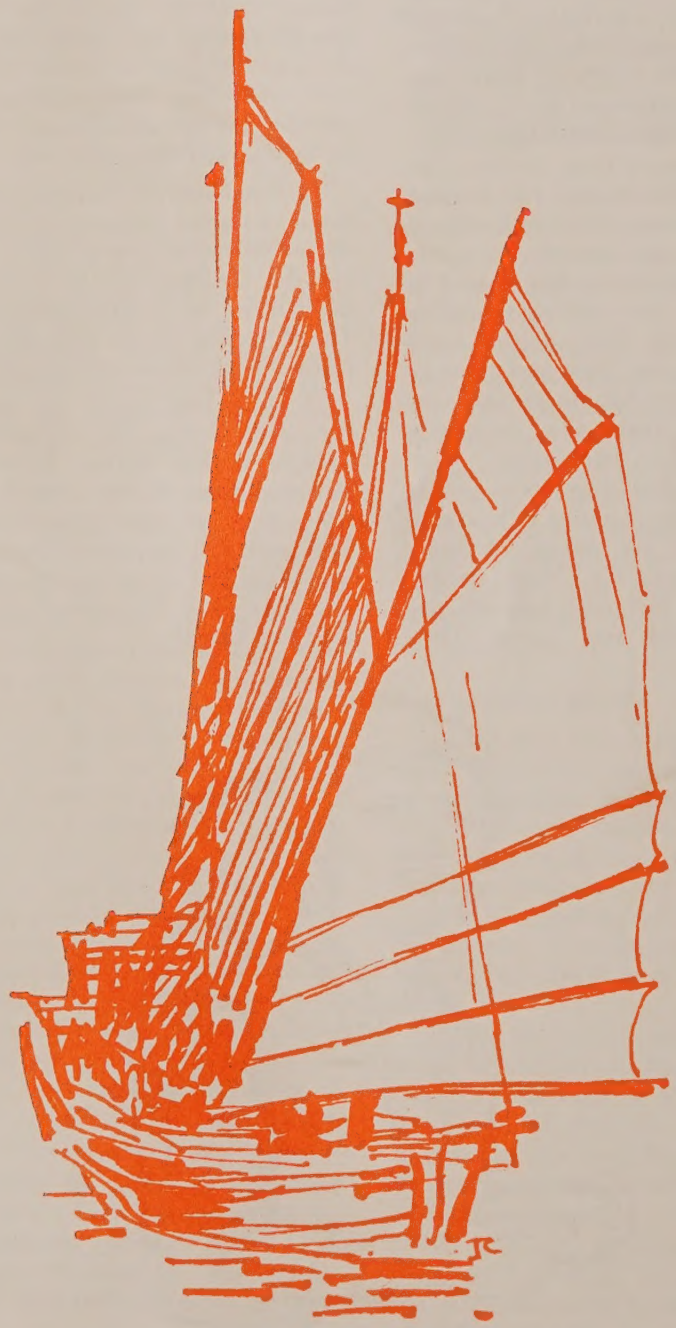
1) Methodists should become better informed about the Chinese, their history, and the drives that have molded Chinese life during the past in order to gain a keener insight into what has happened to the churches on the mainland as well as in Taiwan and Southeast Asia.

2) Methodists should participate in frank and open discussion regarding the controversial issues which exist between the Republic of China on Taiwan and the Peiping government. The Methodist Church supports open discussion of issues seeking the truth.

3) Methodists expect to expand the work among the Chinese on Taiwan, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo, Hong Kong, and Korea, where there are some 25,000 Chinese. This work will be expanded with the conviction that no movement is more important than the growth of the Christian Church.

Understanding modern China

by Brady Tyson



Our Methodist concern for China has two deep roots. First, Methodists have a history of involvement in China, and friendship with Chinese Christians over many years. The prayers and gifts of Methodists of several generations followed the church's missionaries to China. Because of this concern there exists today Christian congregations, in Communist China, keeping the faith under perilous circumstances.

Secondly, the Christian faith compels a look at history as an ever-unfolding story in which God is the chief actor. According to his own hidden purposes, God now woos, now chastens, sinful man. And Jehovah has been known to raise up one unrighteous nation as a rod to smite another unrighteous nation. Because we are concerned with the results for humans of historical events, we are concerned with the significant forces in history.

To note the significance of China in today's world is humdrum, to predict an increasingly influential role in the world as the next few years come and go is commonplace. To fear or to exaggerate or to caricature a real or imagined danger is, however, no way to deal with the growing power and influence of China and the Chinese. The least effective way to meet our responsibilities is to close our minds, and to set a course of defiant action before we have admitted there is much more to understand.

Methodists' world view

Methodists are in a remarkably significant position in the United States to make a contribution to the creative understanding of the role of China in the world today and tomorrow. Methodists have the interest and a world view. If they can add to motivation and perspective a deeper understanding of what has happened in the past few years in China, and what is happening today, it is very possible that they might discover new and presently unsuspected ways of meeting the challenges of Chinese communism, both as a church and as a nation.

It would be well to pull back for a while from the anxieties of the average citizen, recently upset by this morning's black headline, or the

anxieties of the decision-maker in government, harried by an immediate responsibility. A longer, deeper look at China might reveal God speaking to his world—perhaps in both judgment and hope — through recent events in China.

A local church might want to forego the pleasure of having its Commission on Christian Social Concerns present a resolution on this or that side of one of the many "Chinese questions," and decide to first of all see if by study and discussion, reflection and prayer, God is indeed the God of history.

Study resources

A typical Methodist study group could spend a good many weeks and find many good discussions in *Communist China and Asia: Challenge to American Policy* (New York: Vintage Book, Random House, 1960, $1.65). This paperback by A. Doak Barnett is a comprehensive and balanced survey, with excellent guides to further study in its bibliography, including frequent reference to government publications (of many governments) and periodical literature.

To gain an even broader perspective, by going back into Chinese history and traditional culture and society, perhaps *Understanding China* by Earl Herbert Cressy (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1957) is the best book available. Dr. Cressy, who writes from the background of 38 years in China, was for 25 years executive secretary of the China Christian Education Association, and taught for five years at Hartford Seminary before his retirement. This book is designed for study by adult groups and is subtitled "A Handbook of Background Information on Changing China."

The People's Republic of China concerns us all, but so do the millions of overseas Chinese, many of them refugees from Chinese oppression. Much active Methodist evangelistic and social work goes on among and by these people today. The basic book in this field is *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, by W. W. S. Purcell (London: Oxford University Press, 1951).

A more recent book which is very reliable is *The Dragon's Seed, Peking and the Overseas Chinese*, by Robert S. Elegant (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1959).

To gain a broad picture of communism perhaps *A History of Communism in East Asia*, by Malcolm D. Kennedy (New York: Praeger, 1957) is the best starting place. Another general work that would help the inquiring churchman gain a broader understanding would be *The Diplomacy of Southeast Asia: 1945-1958*, by Russell Fifield (New York: Harper, 1958).

One can hardly understand today's China without learning something about Marxist-Leninism. For the Christian some understanding of how God has used history for his purposes also would be helpful in understanding the tragedy and drama of modern China. Perhaps you or your group will want to read *Christianity and Communism Today*, by John C. Bennett (New York: Association Press, 1960) and *International Conflict in the Twentieth Century: A Christian View*, by Herbert Butterfield (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960) as background.

The nation's Department of State and the leaders of our church cannot afford to neglect China. It must be an American concern. It must also be a concern of every Christian and every Christian congregation.

The Rev. Brady Tyson is currently completing his work for the Ph.D. degree from American University, Washington, D. C., where he has served as an instructor in the School of International Service. This fall he will go to Brazil as a missionary of The Methodist Church.

AUDIO VISUALS

China Under Communism— 16mm black and white or color sound motion picture, 22 minutes. Produced by Encyclopedia Britannica Films, 1959. Available from regional EBF film rental libraries, $7.00 color or $4.50 black and white.

A former news correspondent visits China and in his own way interprets the changes taking place under the communists. We see the results of changes in traditional living patterns as well as a description of China's most critical social and economic problems. Also included is a brief discussion of the possible effects of communist success in China on world security.

The film is narrated by the correspondent. The personal approach of this man is one of the strong points of the film.

China Under Communism is strictly a "nuts and bolts" film. No interpretation of the situation is given. However, the film does give background information which would be helpful in any discussion of China. A weakness is that the film tends to show a somewhat glossy exterior view.

This film is recommended for use with youth and adults for discussion and instruction.

Introduction

(continued from front cover)

The alternative courses of action open to the U.S. government all have some serious undesirable consequences. None has a monopoly of morality behind it. Thus there is every reason why Christians and conscientious citizens should study and discuss this question in an effort to arrive at a practical and morally sound position.

A better understanding of the facts and an evaluation of the alternatives on the part of the American people will provide the State Department with the degree of flexibility it needs as it takes varying factors into account in the formation of policy.

Public opinion, if uninformed and based on prejudice or emotion, can seriously limit the accomplishments of policy makers. An enlightened public may influence and improve government policy. This same public will also appreciate that able and sincere men may differ and still be loyal citizens.

If, in the consideration of the China problem, the General Assembly reaches decisions by a majority vote which are contrary to the position of the United States, some bitter attacks upon the United Nations and upon any continued U.S. relation to it will undoubtedly result.

The General Conference of The Methodist Church repeatedly has declared its support for the United Nations and its work. On one occasion it described the UN as "our best political hope for peace."

Let us all remember that in a world of armed nation states, the UN serves as both moderator and mediator. It provides peaceful means by which nations may attempt to settle their disputes without resort to war. It is the growing edge of the world community for which all Christians should strive.

The editors of *Concern* urge readers to carefully study, think about, and discuss the vital questions set forth in this issue. Additional copies are available for 25 cents each—*Herman Will, Division of Peace and World Order.*

Selected Resources

—— *Action on the Question of China by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches,* August 16-24, 1960. Three mimeographed pages, giving in detail the action taken and comments on it by Dr. O. F. Nolde. 15 cents each.

—— *Chinese Representation in the United Nations.* A research paper by Dr. Urban Whitaker, Associate Professor of International Relations at San Francisco State College. Twelve mimeographed papers giving the five major solutions to the representation of the People's Republic of China and Formosa to the United Nations and the reaction of the 99 delegations to these solutions. 25 cents each.

—— *Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet.* The full report of the Fifth World Order Study Conference, November 18-21, 1958. It contains the message of the conference, the comments by two sections on the China question, and the statements by the Hon. Ernest A. Gross, chairman of the conference, concerning Sino-American relations. 35 cents each.

—— *Chinese Representation in the United Nations.* The statement of former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations James Wadsworth, October 1, 1960, giving the reasons for the refusal of the United States to support the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. 25 cents each.

—— *U.S. Policy Toward China.* The March, 1960 issue of *Social Action,* the publication of the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ. It contains an article on "China since 1949" by Earle H. Ballou, former China missionary, an article on "Church Life in China Today," by Frances Jones, and the text of the statement adopted by the council concerning the China question. 25 cents each.

—— *China Consultation 1960.* A synthesis of the presentations, comments, and discussions of a two day meeting of 50 friends of China, largely missionaries, held in September, 1960. It is a publication of the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of Churches. 40 cents each.

—— *Opinion Scale on China.* A device for leading a discussion on the China question in groups in the local church, containing seven possible positions for the U.S. government. Its use makes for maximum light and minimum heat! Enclosed in a leaflet giving guidance on use. 25 cents each.

—— *China Packet.* All of the above materials in one packet. $1.50 per packet.

Please send cash with orders under $5.00. Indicate quantity on line before listed resource. Clip and mail to: *Service Department, 100 Maryland Ave., N. E., Washington 2, D. C.*

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